

Unrequited Love for Germany?: Paradigm and Ideology in Educational Research in Japan until 1945

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Since the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japan's educational studies first began by receiving theories of practical education from the UK and U. S. Later, together with the political trends around 1890, there began a trend towards receipt of German educational studies. Along with the spread of elementary education, there were experiments with building school educational studies based on Germany's Herbart educational studies. Development of various types of educational practices began in the 1920s under the name of Taisho period progressive education, along with systematization of scholarly educational studies. Sukeichi SHINOHARA (1876-1957) is noted as the most important pedagogist of this period. Around 1930, systematic education theories appeared which are still studied today. However, during wartime from 1940 on, these education theories faced the problem of separation of theory from practice. That is, on the one hand, educational studies must ensure its scholastic aspect as theory. But on the other hand, it was in danger of being held captive to the militaristic ideology it was forced into, which was the foundation of education practice during wartime.

1 Introduction

A systematic history of theories of Japanese educational studies has not yet been compiled. The following description is a summary of the development of Japan's educational studies from the Meiji Restoration (1868) to the end of World War II in 1945, covering about 80 years. This paper's thesis is as follows. In short, viewed from the aspect of how systematic the theories were, prewar educational studies peaked in 1930, but these education theories faced the problem of being divorced from practice during wartime from 1940 on. The following descriptions are provided to provide evidence for this thesis. (1) The development of educational studies is described from the initial Meiji period to 1920. It is stated that German educational studies in particular made decisive contributions to the formation of Japanese educational studies. (2) Subsequently, this paper investigates the development of various educational practices from the 1920s to the 1930s that were

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influenced by international progressive education. During this period, most efforts were expended on European and U. S. educational studies, and educational studies was established as a scholarly field both theoretically and systematically. (3) However, under the reality of wartime education in 1930, systematic educational studies established by Sukeichi SHINOHARA in particular faced the problem of divorcing systematic theory from practice. This situation is considered representative of that period's theories of educational studies.

2 Japan's Modernization and Development of Educational Studies in the Mid-19th Century

2.1 Introduction of Western Education

Despite the national isolation policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate, many Japanese had endeavored to introduce developments of western scholarship to Japan prior to the Meiji Restoration of 1868, particularly through books of the Netherlands, which was the only European country with whom trade was allowed. However, a comprehensive introduction of Western education and educational studies was first carried out after the Meiji Restoration.

The new government established the Ministry of Education in Tokyo in 1871, and an educational system in the modern western sense was introduced the following year (1872), by formally establishing the educational system. Translation activity was carried out in the Ministry, to introduce Western education systems and educational concepts to Japan. Particular attention was directed to the field of didactics to study educational methods, and moreover to the areas of educational systems, schools, and administration of school year grades.

These translation activities were done from English books, for which there was a certain level of reading ability at the time. Particular attention was paid to Herbert Spencer's philosophy and theories of evolution. Spencer's "Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical" was translated as "Mr. S.'s Educational Discourse"¹ in 1880, and was read widely. Spencer was regarded as an advocate of progressive education, and attention was also paid to his works in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement of the 1870s.

Education classics were also received via the U. S. in this period, including Pestalozzi and Froebel. Hideo TAKAMINE (1845-1910) played a large role in introducing Pestalozzi to Japan. Takamine studied in the U. S. at Oswego Normal School from 1875 to 1878. The Superintendent of Schools for this district was Sheldon, a famous advocate of Pestalozzi's methods. After returning from the United States, Takamine became a Professor at Tokyo Normal School. In lectures, he used Sheldon's "Elementary Instruction"² as a text, and later used Johonnot's Principles and Practice of Teaching. Takamine's intention was to improve lesson methods in primary education by introducing "developmental teaching". In this way, the ideological education of Pestalozzi that had proliferated in the U. S. was also introduced to Japan.

Similar to Pestalozzi's educational studies, Friedrich Froebel's educational studies was also introduced via the U. S. Japan's first kindergarten was established in 1876 as was attached to the Tokyo Women's Normal School. Shinzo SEKI (1843-1879) was appointed as the first kindergarten principal. Seki had studied Adolph Douai's English writings, first introduced *gabe* (German: "gift") to Japan, and wrote "Kindergarten Notes"³ (1876) and "How to Establish a Kindergarten"⁴ (1878). In this way, Seki was the first advocate of Froebel's methods in Japan. The German Clara Matsuno (1853-1941) became one of the first three kindergarten teachers under Seki. Matsuno provided

guidance in methods using *gabe* and practical nursery methods.

2.2 The First Educational Studies Textbook in Japan : “Education”⁵ by Shuji IZAWA

The first book entitled “Education” published in Japan was written by Shuji IZAWA (1851-1917). America’s philosophical psychology theories were the basis for Izawa’s “Education” (1882).

Izawa studied abroad on a Ministry of Education grant from 1875 to 1878. He studied at Bridgewater Normal School and Harvard University as one of Japan’s first overseas students majoring in education. After returning to Japan, Izawa played a central role in the development of Japan’s teacher training system. Educational studies and school administration methods first became required subjects at Tokyo Normal School at that time, and Izawa’s “Educational Theory” was the textbook for this required subject.

2.3 Adoption of the Theories of Herbart and the Herbart School of Thought

After 20 years had passed since establishment of the new government, the new government effectively suppressed the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement in the 1880s, which was demanding political freedom. The government formed a nascent government system similar to Germany’s Prussia. Prussia strongly influenced the Meiji Constitution that was proclaimed in 1889. Possibly overrated Prusso-German forms of thought came to wield large influence on Japan’s scholarship organizations and education system. The only university in the modern western sense was established in 1877 in Tokyo, and it was decided in 1883 to increase emphasis on German scholarship at this university.

These kinds of conservative political developments regulated the education system with the Revised Education Decree⁶ of 1880. The main goal of this revision of the education decree was to use the nation’s power to suppress liberal thought. Moral training based on Confucian thought was emphasized as the first topic in all subjects.

The Education Imperial Decree⁷ proclaimed in 1890 finalized this trend. Until the end of World War II, the Education Imperial Decree regulated the foundations of Japan’s education. The main part of the Imperial Decree is written as follows. “Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all;” The core of this Imperial Decree emphasized the Japanese nation, and demanded self sacrifice to preserve the nation. Thus the basic premise of Japan’s educational studies since the 1880s was to link the traditions of German educational studies with the emperor-centric doctrine expressed in the Education Imperial Decree.

A change in direction for Japan’s educational studies occurred in 1886. A German gymnasium professor Emil Hausknecht (1853-1927) was appointed as a lecturer of German language and educational studies at Japan’s Imperial University in 1886. As Japan’s first lecturer in charge of educational studies from 1887 to 1890, Hausknecht had a large impact on later developments.

As proposed by Hausknecht, a Temporary Student Education Department⁸ for training junior high school teachers was established in April 1889 in the Literature College of Tokyo Imperial University. In 1890, 12 graduates were employed in normal schools and junior high schools, where they spread the education theories of Herbart and the Herbart school of thought. Thus, strictly speaking, the spread of Herbart’s education theories in Japan was not only through the individual efforts of Hausknecht, but also due to the efforts of his pupils to translate German writings.

In the same way, one should not underestimate the work of educational studies professors at the Tokyo Normal School, established in 1872. The name of this normal school changed to Higher Normal School in 1886. Teinosuke HATANO (1863-1923) studied under Wilhelm Rein of the University of Jena in Germany from 1884 to 1885, and made great efforts to promote educational studies. Notable contributions of Hatano to Japan's educational studies include Rein's biography, an introductory book to Rein educational studies which considers teaching practice, and also practical proposals for education and teacher training.

Jintaro OSE (1865-1944) was a strongly influential education scholar. Ose worked at the Higher Normal School since 1898. He was young when he wrote "Educational Research" (1891)⁹, which is regarded as a model education text relying on the Herbart school of thought. Ose's writings consistently reflected German educational studies of that time. Ose's contributions to Japan's education included proposals to the education administration from the standpoint of a professor of Education. Also noteworthy were the education textbooks he wrote that were widely distributed, and his activities as a test official of the teacher certification exam.

Educational theory from the Herbart school of thought greatly influenced understanding of education in this period. This is especially true for the five stage teaching theory, and theories on development of moral character (*Charakterstaerke der Sittlichkeit*), which were considered goals of education. The import of Herbart's educational theory always ran the risk of mistakenly emphasizing the affinity of education's moral aspect emphasized by this theory, with the Confucian morals that appeared in Japan's Education Imperial Decree. The concepts emphasized by advocates of Japan's Herbart's educational theories were the Confucian morals of warm spirit, sincere spirit, politeness, wisdom, and frankness. These coincided with the ideas found in Herbart educational theories, and to that extent, Herbart's educational theories contributed to Japan's education practices.

Two impacts remain from the introduction of Herbart educational theories in Japan. First of all, those theories were combined with respect for German scholarship, which was a political trend of that time, and which made the German influence on Japan's educational studies decisive. In contrast, the previous influence of American educational studies dramatically decreased, at least in university educational research. Second, one can assert that full scale educational studies scholarship began under the influence of Herbart educational studies.

2.4 Criticism of Herbart's Educational Studies at the Start of the 20th Century

The debate over Japan's educational studies around 1910 produced the following developments. In terms of the educational system itself, the previous 4 years of compulsory education was extended to 6 years. Later, the expansion and enhancement of higher education also became an important issue. However, in terms of education theory, Herbart educational studies was abandoned. Accompanying the growing understanding that education is a social phenomenon, the individualistic-intellectual orientation of Herbart educational studies came to be questioned. Hence, during this period Herbart educational studies were regarded as "stiff dogmatism" and "education theory divorced from educational reality".

Masataro SAWAYANAGI (1865-1927) was one of the sharpest critics of educational studies divorced from reality. As a high-ranking Ministry of Education official over a long period, Sawayanagi was a leader of Japan's education administration. He also served as president of several Imperial Universities, and was a reformist scholar. In later years, he became a writer without formal office, and from 1914 onwards he thoroughly criticized the methods of education research of that era. According to Sawayanagi, Herbart educational studies did not sufficiently take educa-

tional practice into account. Thus, as Sawayanagi had already advocated in his 1909 book titled “Practical educational research”¹⁰, he stated that educational studies as scholarship must spring from educational reality, not from groundless ideas.

There were also commentators who criticized the research methods of Herbart educational studies from the standpoint of social educational studies. Paul Natorp was frequently brought up as being representative of the neo-Kantian tradition of educational studies of Paul Bergemann and Marburg, which had been forgotten and left behind in Germany.

The technique of experimental educational research was also invoked to criticize Herbart educational studies in the same period. This experimental educational research attracted interest among education practitioners. In 1906 Sukeichi SHINOHARA (1876-1957) became the Director of the elementary school affiliated with Fukui Prefecture Normal School. He carried out research on children based on experimental educational research conducted by Germany’s education scholar and psychologist Ernst Meumann, and Shinohara criticized Herbart educational studies from this perspective. Shinohara was one of the standard-bearers for the new education movement in this period, and considered himself a practitioner of “Educational studies from the child” (vom Kinde aus).

3 Development of Japan’s Progressive Education and Educational Studies (1910-1929)

An examination of Japan’s education theory practice from 1910 onwards reveals that two new trends had appeared. First, interest grew in building scholarly educational studies from 1910 onwards, and there were growing efforts to systematize educational studies as an independent field of study. Second, under the influence of international progressive education, an education reform movement comprised of education practitioners became active.

3.1 Construction of Idealistic Educational Studies Based on the Neo-Kantian Tradition of Philosophy

Accompanying the growth of the urban middle class, the traditional rural cooperative system of human relations began to weaken at around 1920, and the concept “individuality” in the modern Western sense became a topic of debate. Rudolf Eucken’s concept of idealism is notable in discussions of educational studies and philosophy during this era. The so-called “personality educational studies” (Persönlichkeitspädagogik) was introduced by Hanjiro KOJIMA (1871-1926). Kojima’s writings advocated the importance of the character of educators, and he asserted that contact between teachers and students is education’s most important opportunity. Following on Rudolf Eucken’s philosophy, Paul Natorp’s neo-Kantian tradition philosophy and educational studies became notable. Natorp had already been introduced into Japan in the 1890s, but Japanese were finally able to understand Natorp’s theoretical standpoint from about 1918, as philosophical understanding grew regarding German idealism. Natorp’s “Social Idealism” (Sozialidealismus) was translated into Japanese in 1923 and his “Social Educational studies” (Sozialpädagogik) was also translated into Japanese with the title “Philosophical Educational studies Based on Criticism”¹¹. Moreover, Natorp’s Pestalozzi research had a large influence on Japan’s Pestalozzi research. In short, the introduction of Pestalozzi in the 1880s was from research conducted in the U. S., but in the 1920s, an examination of Pestalozzi’s original German language text resulted in more progress

made towards more scholarly research.

3.2 Introduction of the Educational Philosophy of John Dewey

The development of the “Taisho Democracy” of the 1920s enabled new efforts in U. S. educational studies. Dewey’s concept of organizing schools from the standpoint of child-centered education came to be noticed in Japan through the 1901 translation of “The School and Society” by Yoichi UENO. In 1905, the Ministry of Education distributed a new translation of “The School and Society” to all schools in Japan. Thus Dewey’s name came to be accepted positively throughout Japan.

It seems particularly important that Dewey made a stopover in Japan during his trip to China, and held many public lectures. Dewey’s visit to Japan actually became a catalyst for Japanese researchers to engage in serious efforts with Dewey’s theories of education. Dewey’s main work for educational studies “Democracy and Education” was first translated as excerpts in 1918, but a full translation appeared next year in 1919 with the title “Democracy and Education: An introduction to the philosophy of education”¹².

Consequently, by around 1920, there emerged the terminology of the “Dewey or Natorp” alternatives. University professors of public national universities who held strong beliefs in German educational studies attacked Dewey’s pragmatism as “shallow and biological” ideas, and tried to build scholarly educational studies based on neo-Kantian tradition philosophy in the sense of Natorp. Dewey’s theories were alternatively accepted by education practitioners, and by private university professors whose research was based on educational concepts pioneered in the UK and U. S. educational.

UK and U. S. progressive educational concepts espoused by Dewey and Bertrand Russell, which were introduced to Japan, had elements that at the time essentially ran counter to the education structure of the Emperor system. This is because schools based on child-centered education essentially should not have fixed dogma as a premise. The neo-Kantian traditional idealism received from Germany also should have resulted in discord between these foreign educational ideas and Japan’s controlling political structure. These educational concepts should have enabled criticism of the Emperor who was a “living god”, and should have shaken the Imperial Decree’s value system, which had regulated Japan’s education from 1890. However, believers in western educational studies were not conscious of this critical perspective. These pedagogists did not go beyond selective introduction of elements from among Western educational ideas that were deemed necessary for modernization of Japan’s education.

3.3 Development of Taisho Period Progressive Education

Through “Progressive Education Lectures”¹³ written by Tomerri TANIMONO and published in 1906, the progressive education ideas of Ellen Key and others aroused wide interest. After this decisive event, progressive education theories of the U. S., Germany, and France were introduced one after another from 1910 onwards. Key’s “The Century of the Child” was translated into Japanese in 1916, Dewey came to Japan in 1919, and Helen Parkhurst made a lecture trip to Japan in 1924.

Progressive education was mainly practiced in elementary schools affiliated with normal schools, and in private elementary schools newly established in big cities. It is known that the first of these new concept elementary schools already existed early on going back to the 1890s, and the private elementary school that Masataro SAWAYANAGI established in 1917 (Seijo Elementary

School) is well known. This elementary school adopted the Dalton Plan, and became a model school for Japan's progressive education schools. Sawayanagi resigned in 1913 from his position as President of Kyoto Imperial University. He was active as a writer from then on, and made efforts toward the transfer his own ideas into practice. Following in the steps of Seijo Elementary School, in 1921, Free Elementary School¹⁴ and Culture Institute Elementary School¹⁵ were both established in 1921, and Meisei Elementary School and Tamagawa Elementary School were established in 1924.

Japan's Progressive Education was called "New Education", but this crystallized various educational ideas. It particularly emphasized freedom, a shift to the viewpoint of "from the child (vom Kinde aus)", improvement of education methods from enforced uniform education to individualized education, and spontaneity and creativity. However, debates on education reform mainly focused on issues of educational methods, and did not extend to critical reexamination of the foundations of modern pedagogical thought. The narrowness of this debate was caused by the nation's education policy which restricted expansion of freedom of individuals.

3.4 The System of Education Research until the 1920s

Japan's traditionally excellent and important facilities of educational studies research were the Imperial Universities in Tokyo and Kyoto, and the Higher Normal Schools of Tokyo and Hiroshima.

Tokyo Imperial University (established 1879) was the first Japanese university in the modern Western sense. After Emil Hausknecht left the professor of education post at this university, there were no educational studies teaching staff for 8 years, with several exceptions. Finally, Kumaji YOSHIDA (1874-1964) was appointed as Assistant Professor in 1908, and was promoted to Professor in 1916. As a conservative scholar, Yoshida wielded strong influence on Japan's educational studies and education policy until his retirement from office in 1934.

In 1919, the Education Department of Tokyo Imperial University its number of courses of study to five from its previous single course. As a result, education history, educational sociology, education administration, etc., were further promoted in addition to educational philosophy. Accompanying this expansion in the system, Soji IRISARA (1885-1945) was appointed, who would become famous for research in philanthropism (philantropismus).

The second Imperial University was Kyoto Imperial University, established in 1897. Tomerit TANIMOTO (1886-1946), who was professor of education from 1906 to 1913 for the course of Educational studies & Teaching Methods, was the most important advocate of Herbart educational studies in Japan. After him, Shigenao KONISHI (1875-1948) continued this course. Konishi was one of the most important pedagogists since the time of Herbart educational studies. As his interest in religion steadily grew, Konishi advocated what could be called his original "spiritual character educational studies".

Tokyo Higher Normal School (established 1872, reorganized 1886) was an education institution with the goal of training junior high school teachers. The Herbart school of educational studies advocated by Wilhelm Rein had previously been accepted in this school. The change in this school's educational studies began with the employment of Sukeichi SHINOHARA (1876-1957) as professor in 1919. Shinohara's first work "Issues of Critical Educational studies"¹⁶ (1922) was written during Shinohara's early period. This work clarified the perspective of education as "turning nature to reason", and is still regarded today as the first important result of Japan's educational philosophy research. According to Shinohara, the goal of progressive education is to use the

power of reason to subjugate the animal nature within people. Thus it is important to realize the independent “free” individual, and the ideal of spiritual life. In his main work “The Essence of Education and Educational studies”¹⁷ (1930), Shinohara tried to systematize scholarly educational studies through the “transcendental method”.

Arata OSADA (1887-1961) was a well-known professor of education at Hiroshima Higher Normal School (established 1902). Osada was the most important Pestalozzi researcher in modern Japan. Osada served as Sawayanagi’s secretary from 1915, but was hired by Hiroshima Higher Normal School in 1920. Osada’s graduation thesis “Pestalozzi educational theory”¹⁸ was the representative work of his early period. It was published in 1920, making his name known in academia. This work came about under the strong influence of Natorp’s Pestalozzi research. Osada’s research was historical research on classical pedagogists such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, etc, and focused on the German language zone.

University educational studies also became an established area of study by the system around 1930. In 1929, newly conceptualized Arts and Sciences Universities¹⁹ were established from the research departments of the Higher Normal Schools in Tokyo and Hiroshima. Until then, the Imperial Universities were the only places for scholastic research, but these Arts and Sciences Universities of Tokyo and Hiroshima developed educational research institutions on par with the Imperial Universities. There were always strict requirements that educational research and education in Higher Normal Schools be directly linked with educational practice, but in the new Arts and Sciences Universities, educational studies was given a position as a department that placed emphasis on independent academic theoretical research. The 1930s witnessed much discussion concerning the scholarly character of Japan’s educational studies, and it seems these discussions involved the firm recognition of the system of educational studies as a field of study.

In universities, specialist research journals began to be published. Well known publications include: the Tokyo Imperial University Education Department’s “Research on Trends of Education Ideas”²⁰ (1927-1948), Tokyo Arts and Sciences University Education Department’s “Educational Research”²¹ (1931-), Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University Education Department’s “Education Science”²² (1931-). Nevertheless, the Japanese Educational Research Association was not established until 1941.

3.5 The Year 1930 for Japanese Educational Studies: Appearance of Systematic Educational Studies

As already suggested, 1930 can be considered an epoch-making year in the history of Japan’s educational theory. This is because Shinohara’s great work appeared: “The Essence of Education and Educational studies”²³. His discourse on educational research methodology and the theme of building independent educational studies renews interest even when read today. This book provided a general concept for education, and while it relied on German education for the scholarly character of educational studies, the book discussed this in great detail. Shinohara’s systematic educational studies consists of “theoretical educational studies” which discusses ideas of education, and “practical educational studies” which shows concrete guidelines for education practice that had been heretofore historically regulated.

However, since this period, the themes for debates on educational studies have been dramatically transformed. Under the influence of the neo-Kantian tradition, the understanding of education until about 1930 was that education itself was valued phenomena. However in the 1930s, educational understanding based on the neo-Kantian tradition had already lost its validity. In its

stead, the themes of “race” and “group” came to the fore. This kind of transformation of education research subjects was caused by the social and political situation, which was heavily influenced by the wartime system.

Many university pedagogists still paid attention to trends in German educational studies, and tried to introduce the newest results from Germany. As cultural educational studies, psychiatric educational studies also strongly influenced Japan. There were hopes that new educational concepts and scholarly understanding would point to a new direction for Japan’s educational studies. Many publications referred to and discussed German pedagogists of that era, such as Hermann Nohl, Eduard Spranger, Theodor Litt, Frischeisen-Kohler, and Georg Kerschensteiner.

America’s Scientific Movement of Education was introduced from a standpoint of opposition to the philosophical educational studies that characterized Japan’s university educational research, and this Movement became a force to promote development of experiential scientific education research. Shigetaka ABE (1890-1939) in particular introduced this new trend of American education research to Japan. In the 1920s Abe resided in the U. S., where he studied methods of empirical education research. His “Small Educational studies” (1927)²⁴ referred to C. H. Judd and E. P. Cubberley in particular. It is clear that this work included criticisms of speculative and philosophical “large” educational studies.

Marxist educational studies were advocated under the name of “education science”, but were suppressed by the authorities. Tokumitsu YAGAWA (1900-1982) was one of Japan’s advocates of Marxist educational studies, and he introduced information on Soviet educational studies and Soviet education to Japan under a pseudonym from the 1930s onwards.

4 Race and Education : Development of Educational Studies in Wartime

4.1 The Introduction of Racial Educational Studies

Most certainly as a result of the political environment from 1930, the government adopted policies in the 1930s to greatly restrict progressive education and educational research that conflicted with education policy. For example, students were forced to worship at Shinto shrines. The Ministry of Education began to strictly control home education and social educational youth organizations. In 1932, teacher education began to strongly advocate ideology emphasizing the supremacy of Japanese spirit. Moreover, “Cardinal principles of the National Entity of Japan” were compiled by the Ministry of Education in 1937. Appropriate passages were selected and placed in this anthology from among Japan’s legends and classical writings. This anthology was subsequently distributed to schools and social educational organizations.

The advocacy of “Japanese Education” should be noted in its relation to this era’s spirit of “ultra-nationalism”. Educational studies advocated that Western individualistic educational studies were not appropriate for the development of the Japanese people. Given this perspective, Japan’s general university educational studies came under question, as it relied on Western educational studies. The most well known advocate of “Japanese Education” was Hisaji KONDO (1885-1979).

4.2 University Educational Studies during Wartime

University pedagogists did not directly oppose this kind of revivalist standpoint. In fact, they steadily moved towards an ideological view that advocated Japan’s traditions, or “Japanese

spirit” in the sense of “ultra-nationalism”. This ideological shift also applies to pedagogists who were notable around 1920.

Soju IRISAWA was deeply involved in the racially motivated Homeland Education Movement²⁵. Irisawa’s racist standpoint can be perceived from his book “The Road to Japanese Spirit”²⁶ (1934). The “experience” concept of the Dilthey school of thought was explained in detail in Irisawa’s discourse. According to Irisawa, this concept was important as the theoretical basis for the Homeland Education Movement.

Shigenao KONISHI became involved with religious thought, and attempted a return to pre-modern traditions. This turnaround can be perceived in his writings published in 1930: “View of the Essence of Education”²⁷ and “Toil Education”²⁸. Briefly, Konishi stated that the Japanese essence of education is the exact opposite of Western educational studies. Konishi’s anti-Western attitude arose from Oriental-Japanese and intuitive-education experiences that were inculcated during childhood. According to Konishi, respect, love, and trust are manifestations of humanity. In other passages, he asserts that the beautiful ties between the parents and children’s spirits are the core of Japanese spirit. Konishi’s assertions lack a scholarly basis, and are clearly based on traditional views of the Japanese family.

Arata OSADA’s two papers in 1933, “Racial Education”²⁹ and “The Concept of Racial Education”³⁰, demonstrate that Osada converted from neo-Kantian tradition educational studies to racial education. Later, the “race” concept comes to the fore in Osada’s pedagogical work. Osada thought racist ideology was pragmatic in educational studies, and this way of thinking was finally systematized in his 1944 work “National Educational studies”³¹.

Sukeichi SHINOHARA differed from the many pedagogists who were strongly pressured by the spirit of the era. He first limited his own activities to systematization of scholarly educational studies, and despite the changes in society, strove to maintain the continuity of his own scholarly work. Yet “Race and Education”³² was the title of a summary paper published in 1932 on Shinohara’s aims of “practical educational studies”. Shinohara’s description of “transcendental” methods in this work hints at the fate of educational studies. But when Shinohara referred to “worldview of racial characteristics” or “racial spirit as a discipline ideal”, he risked losing his reputation of scholarly discourse that he had attained by 1930. Shinohara spent no more than one chapter in his writings of 1930 on the pedagogists Krieck and Petersen, who were active during Germany’s Nazism period. However, many common points with that era’s ultra-nationalism and fascism can be seen in Shinohara’s discourse from 1930 on.

The control of Japan’s scholarship by the military government was also exemplified by the organization of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science in 1937. This organization aimed at control of research based on strict government requirements.

Japan and Germany’s ideological commonalities advanced the introduction of pedagogists in the era of German Nazism and also the translation of their writings. E. Krieck’s “Educational Philosophy”³³ (1930) and “National Socialist Education”³⁴ were translated in 1943. Krieck’s other papers also became known. A. Bäumler’s “Youth Organizations and Scholarship”³⁵ (1933) and “Politics and Education”³⁶ (1937) were also translated in 1945.

5 Conclusion

Modern Japan’s educational studies selectively adopted scholastic results of western educa-

tional studies, with the aim of meeting the demands for modernization and westernization of education. After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, practical educational discourse of the UK and U. S. was the first to be introduced to Japan. Later, the import of Herbart educational studies from Germany in the 1880s became a decisive catalyst for establishing educational studies as academic scholarship in Japan.

Entering the 1920s, under the influence of international progressive education, various experiments were performed in educational practice. At the same time, Herbart educational studies was criticized during this period for being limited to school educational studies, and great efforts were made to build scholarly educational studies as a specialized field of research in universities. In the history of Japan's educational theory, Sukeichi Shinohara's achievement was to systematize scholarly educational studies by establishing "transcendental educational theory", mainly based on the neo-Kantian tradition of philosophy. However, Shinohara's view of "transcendental" educational theory risked neglecting the endeavors of education practitioners to develop reforms of various educational practices. Consequently, educational studies came to lack sufficient connection to educational practice, especially with the transformation of educational reality that began in 1930.

Conclusively speaking, general Japanese educational studies before 1945, especially the theoretical work of the leading researcher Shinohara, were pressured into the following kinds of alternatives. On the one hand, if "transcendental" methods were made the only possible methodology for the purposes of valuing such scholarship and establishing scholarship, then a holistic perspective of education practice would not be possible. On the other hand, if educational studies focused on practice, and tried to face the "issues of the era", it would be carried away in the era's racist trend of thought, and become unable to maintain the integrated scientific principles that had been established for the systematic pursuit of scholarly educational studies.

Notes

- 1 Su-shi Koyuiku Ron
- 2 Elementary Instruction, for the Use of Public and Private Schools and Normal Classes; Containing a Graduated Course of Object Lessons for Training the Senses and Developing the Faculties of Children
- 3 Yochien Ki
- 4 Yochien Souritsuhou
- 5 Kyoikugaku
- 6 Kaisei Kyoiku Rei
- 7 Kyoiku Chokugo
- 8 Tokuyakusei Kyoikuka
- 9 Kyoikugaku
- 10 Jissaiteki Kyoikugaku
- 11 Hihanshugi ni Motodzuku Tetsugakuteki Kyoikugaku
- 12 Kyoiku Tetsugaku Gairon-Minshushugi to Kyoiku
- 13 Shin Kyoikugaku Kougi
- 14 Jiyu Gakuen Shogakkou
- 15 Bunka Gakuin Shogakkou
- 16 Hihanteki Kyoikugaku no Mondai
- 17 Kyoiku no Honshitsu to Kyoikugaku
- 18 Pestalozzi Kyoikugagu
- 19 Bunrika daigaku
- 20 Kyoiku Shichou Kenkyu
- 21 Kyoikugaku Kenkyu
- 22 Kyoiku Kagaku
- 23 Kyoiku no Honshitsu to Kyoikugaku
- 24 Chiisai Kyoikugaku
- 25 Kyodo Kyoiku Undo

- 26 Nihon Seisin he no Michi
- 27 Kyoiku no Honshitsukan
- 28 Rousaku Kyoiku
- 29 Minzoku Kyoikugaku
- 30 Minzoku Kyoikugaku no Gainen
- 31 Kokka Kyoikugaku
- 32 Minzoku to Kyoiku
- 33 Erziehungsphilosophie
- 34 Nationalsozialistische Erziehung
- 35 Männerbund und Wissenschaft
- 36 Politik und Erziehung

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